

# THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE



# Bulletin

Vol. XL, No. 1037

May 11, 1959

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# Bulletin

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*Publications of the Department, United Nations documents, and legislative material in the field of international relations are listed currently.*

## Inter-American Progress Through the Organization of American States

by Roy R. Rubottom, Jr.

*Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs*<sup>1</sup>

It is most appropriate for the Council on World Affairs of Indianapolis to dedicate this program on April 14 to inter-American affairs. This occasion is one of hundreds of events which are taking place throughout the 21 Republics of America in celebration of Pan American Day. Through the years the attention to Pan American Day has grown in public support and participation to the point where increasingly it is becoming in itself a demonstration of the widespread feeling of good neighborliness and interdependence which exists among the peoples of this continent.

In keeping with the occasion I have chosen what seems to me to be the most suitable of all subjects discussed today, namely, the Organization of American States. As most of you may know, April 14 is the anniversary of the founding of the Organization of American States. It was on that day in 1890 that the First International Conference of American States successfully concluded its work in Washington and established the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics. This small agency has grown without interruption, bearing different names and going through various stages of development until it blossomed forth in what is now known as the Organization of American States.

It is an interesting fact that throughout most of its 69 years the Organization existed without benefit of any formally ratified treaty among the

American states. The present charter of the Organization was not drafted until 1948 and did not come into legal effect until 3 years later.

This simple fact seems to me to be highly significant to an understanding of the Organization of American States, for it demonstrates as well as anything else that the OAS is deeply rooted in the basic relationship among the American Republics. Its strength and its validity depend not so much upon what has been written down on paper, important as its treaty obligations have come to be. Its real significance is its expression of the underlying unity and desire for cooperation that has existed for more than a century among the independent countries of the New World.

The colonizers of the Latin American countries and those who settled the present United States came from different parts of Europe, spoke different languages, and demonstrated significant differences in their political and social institutions. However, under the influence of the New World they shared certain experiences which gave them a sense of common destiny. The people of both the English-speaking and Spanish-speaking countries of America evidenced a strong desire to build in the New World a better civilization than had existed in Europe, a civilization incorporating wider human freedom and better conditions of life. To achieve this objective they found it necessary to win their independence through revolution. This common experience was the genesis of the spirit of a unified America dedicated to the defense of its independence and the development of a better human life.

<sup>1</sup>Address made before the Indianapolis Council on World Affairs at Indianapolis, Ind., on Apr. 14 (press release 261 dated Apr. 13).

The great Latin American Liberator, Simón Bolívar, sensed this destiny of the Americas. In 1826 he called representatives of the Latin American countries and the United States together in a meeting at Panamá. The treaty of confederation which this conference drafted was never ratified. Like other great leaders, Bolívar was far in advance of his fellow men in his thinking and understanding. However, the ideas he advocated at that time persisted throughout the century and in one form or another have found expression in the present OAS.

#### **Guiding Principles of American Republics**

During the first period of the life of the Organization of American States a major achievement was the development of certain principles which have come to guide the relations among the American Republics. These principles are not extraordinary for their content, since, like other important moral precepts, they have been expressed and advocated on many occasions. To illustrate, there is the principle that all states belonging to the OAS, regardless of their respective size, are juridically equal. Another principle now incorporated in the inter-American rule of law is that states must settle their disputes by peaceful means. This simple rule, which is reflected in the aspirations of all mankind, has perhaps been given more effective application among the American Republics than anywhere else in the world.

Perhaps the most important single principle which has been developed through the inter-American system is that of nonintervention. This logical corollary of the idea that all states are equal provides that no state may intervene in the internal or external affairs of any other state. The intervention by strong governments in the affairs of weaker nations had long been an accepted international practice. The United States had resorted to it frequently in Latin America during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The resentment of the Latin American countries against such acts, and their constant fear that they would be repeated, almost threatened the very existence of an inter-American regional system. When in 1933 the United States accepted the principle of nonintervention, a new era of mutual confidence

and cooperation opened up before the American Republics.

Let me speak as clearly as possible at this point. This very doctrine, negative sounding in name, has contributed positively to the strengthening of democracy and freedom in the hemisphere. The record speaks for itself.

As the clouds of World War II darkened the horizon in the late thirties, the American Republics drew closer together. They established the system of consultation on matters of mutual interest. They intensified their cooperation in practical programs dedicated to the maintenance of the security of the hemisphere and the promotion of better economic, social, and cultural conditions of life.

It was, therefore, with the benefit of a long and practical experience that the delegates of the American Republics meeting in Bogotá in 1948 set forth in the charter which they drafted for the OAS the statement that its purpose was to strengthen the peace and security of the continent and to promote its economic and cultural development. Let us look for a moment at how the OAS is meeting its responsibilities with respect to these two fundamental purposes that so vitally affect the welfare of each of its 21 member states.

#### **Cooperative Action for Regional Defense**

The security of the American Continent has long been a major objective of the United States. It was the objective of one of the first great pronouncements of our foreign policy, namely, the Monroe Doctrine. For more than a century after the expression of the Monroe Doctrine, the United States assumed a major responsibility for assuring the continued independence and security of the countries of the New World.

Beginning with World War II, however, it became clear to the United States and its neighbors in Latin America that the responsibility for protecting the security of the Western Hemisphere had to be shared by agreement and cooperative action among all the independent republics. This idea received effective expression during World War II. It was finally incorporated in the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro signed in 1947, which sets forth the basic security provisions of the OAS. This treaty was the first of the regional defense treaties entered into by the United States, and in im-



portant respects it served as a model for the North Atlantic Treaty and later regional pacts.

Under the Rio Treaty an armed attack against any American state is considered an attack against all American states and all are obligated to go to the assistance of the victims. Moreover, either an armed attack or any other act or threat of aggression that menaces the political independence or territorial integrity of an American state can justify consultation among the 21 member states to agree upon the collective measures that should be taken.

The Rio Treaty, therefore, provides a firm foundation for the solidarity of the American Republics in the defense of the continent. Upon this foundation rests the policy of the U.S. Government in its military cooperation with the Latin American countries. A major feature of this cooperative program involves U.S. military training missions. Although some of these missions were instituted as far back as 1925, their functions now are related to preparations for hemispheric defense under the Rio Treaty. Currently there are missions in 18 countries—in each instance at the request of the host government. They serve in a strictly advisory capacity and do not become involved in local military operations or perform command functions.

The Rio Treaty makes no provision for any standing forces under the control of the OAS. It does, however, establish the responsibility of every American Republic to cooperate for the defense of the continent. Through the Inter-American Defense Board plans for continental defense are worked out that would form the basis for military cooperation in time of need. This need could arise at some unforeseen moment. With the issues so clearly drawn between the Communist world and the free world, it is reassuring to know that we have such close security ties to prevent aggression against any country in the hemisphere.

The Rio Treaty does not disregard the problem of maintaining peace and security within the continent as well as security from outside attack. The treaty has now been brought into active operation four times with respect to disputes between American states. In all cases the prompt and energetic action of the OAS quickly terminated such fighting as had broken out and led to

an eventual peaceful solution of the issue which had prompted the conflict.

#### **Honduras-Nicaragua Border Dispute**

The most recent of these cases was a longstanding border dispute between Honduras and Nicaragua 2 years ago. Fighting had actually broken out along the disputed section of the frontier when both Governments brought the case to the OAS and called for the application of the Rio Treaty.<sup>2</sup> The Council, in accordance with the procedures set forth in the treaty, called for a meeting of foreign ministers but immediately took certain decisions provisionally, as it is authorized to do. An investigating committee of five countries was appointed and within 24 hours was on its way to the scene of the conflict. This group visited both countries and immediately brought the influence of the entire inter-American community to bear upon the contending parties. A cease-fire was first arranged. With the aid of military advisers provided by various member governments of the OAS, a quick analysis of the deployment of troops on both sides of the border was made and a plan was drawn up to provide for the withdrawal of forces on both sides. After 2 days of intensive negotiation with both parties, the OAS committee was able to secure the agreement of each to that plan.

After the fighting had stopped and a practical system had been established to prevent a further contact between the military forces, the situation soon reached the point where more serious political negotiations could be encouraged. With the continued encouragement of the OAS, particularly in the Council meeting in Washington, a pact was drawn up between the two Governments under which they agreed to take their dispute to the International Court of Justice,<sup>3</sup> where the case is now being litigated. Thus, through the prompt action of the OAS, in accord with sacred treaties, an incipient inter-American war had been nipped in the bud.

A few months ago, when both Governments faced problems arising out of the activities of political refugees in each country, the Govern-

<sup>2</sup> For background, see BULLETIN of May 20, 1957, p. 811.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 12, 1957, p. 273.

ments of Honduras and Nicaragua resorted again to the spirit of the OAS and its peaceful solution of international disputes. On February 26 they signed in the presence of important dignitaries of the OAS a new treaty prescribing measures under which they would attempt to control political refugees and minimize the problems to their international relations which might result from their activities.

#### **Present Tensions in Caribbean Area**

It has been said with justice, I believe, that, as a result of the repeated demonstrations given by the American Republics of their desire to maintain peace and security and the experience showing that the OAS provides effective means for stopping disputes and promoting peaceful settlements, it is now inconceivable that war should break out between American Republics. I believe this to be true. However, I would be remiss if I did not say that the present situation of tension among countries in the Caribbean area puts the OAS again to a severe test of its capacity to maintain peace and security.

As in former years, the present international tensions of the Caribbean are directly related to the activities of political exiles and refugees who, while enjoying territorial asylum in foreign countries, direct their efforts toward overthrow of the governments in their own countries. Such situations are neither new nor confined to any one political group. They have at various times been conducted by those labeled as "dictator haters" and those labeled as "dictator mongers."

Under various treaties, notably the charter of the OAS and the Inter-American Convention on the Rights and Duties of States in the Event of Civil Strife, the American Republics are obligated to prevent the use of their territory as a base for armed bands attempting the overthrow of other recognized governments and are enjoined from any form of intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. They are furthermore obligated under the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro to go to the assistance of any country that suffers an armed attack.

Under the circumstances I cannot believe that any American state would place in jeopardy the hard-won achievements of the inter-American system in the maintenance of peace and security by permitting violations of these basic treaty obli-

gations to take place. This view, I am happy to say, is shared by the preponderant weight of public opinion throughout the American Republics. Experience has demonstrated that such interventionist efforts not only violate the principles of the inter-American system of peace and security; they are also self-defeating. As that outstanding Latin American statesman and former Secretary General of the OAS, President Alberto Lleras Camargo of Colombia, recently said,

Every effort at international intervention has permitted governments which violate human rights to arouse among their peoples a wave of nationalism which cloaks, protects, and consolidates violations that are carried out against the essential rights of the human person.

Democracy must come from within each state and people; it cannot be imposed from outside.

In various quarters the question has been raised as to why the OAS has not taken up the present situation of international tension in the Caribbean with a view to restoring a greater degree of international confidence in that area. The answer is simple. Excellent though the inter-American procedures for the maintenance of peace and security are, there exists an important gap in the powers of the OAS. In order to invoke the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro either an actual attack or threat of aggression must exist, or the territory or sovereignty or political independence of an American state must be affected by a fact or situation endangering the peace and security of America. The Council of the OAS is not empowered to take cognizance of an international dispute except by invoking that treaty. The Inter-American Peace Committee, the other principal agent of the OAS in the field of peaceful relations, has no authority to take an initiative in regard to a controversy between states; it must wait until both parties agree to bring their dispute before it. Thus the OAS is in a sense left impotent in the face of international tension and must await the outbreak of a controversy before it can exercise even a moderating influence. I believe this situation merits the serious study of the American governments at this stage, with a view to deciding whether some further improvement may not be advisable in the inter-American peace system, of which we are rightly so proud.

#### **Role of OAS in Economic Affairs**

The structure, and certainly the operating techniques, of our regional organization should be kept

under constant review. New challenges and opportunities regularly appear before us. This has been particularly true in the last few years with respect to economic affairs. It has been customary in some quarters recently to question the role of the OAS in economic affairs, asking why it has not solved economic problems as effectively as it has solved the problem of maintaining peace and security. Let's look at the record.

The very fact that the OAS has succeeded in developing so firm a base for peace and security among the American nations constitutes an important prerequisite to economic progress in the Americas. Conflicts and wars amongst the American states would gravely obstruct efforts to improve their economies. Conversely, every time a conflict is resolved and confidence in the peace system of the Americas grows, it becomes possible for the American nations to devote their energies and resources more fully to constructive peaceful development.

Furthermore, the OAS has in fact carried out important activities in the economic and social field which are often overlooked and sometimes neglected. The technical cooperation program of the OAS, planned by and carried out under the supervision of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, is a modest but significant step contributing to the training of badly needed technical personnel throughout the American Republics. This program is capable of expansion to any proportions the governments wish consistent with the realities of effective administration.

The Inter-American Economic and Social Council and the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the Pan American Union, which provides the technical secretariat, have produced important analyses of inter-American economic problems.

In the economic and social field many important activities are being carried out through the specialized organizations of the OAS, such as the Pan American Health Organization, the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, and the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, to name a few. The expansion of the activities of the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences was one of the major recommendations of the Inter-American Committee of Presidential Representatives, called at the initiative of President Eisenhower in 1956-57, and now

awaits appropriate action by the member governments.

#### **Operation Pan America**

The past year, however, has seen a concentrated effort to broaden the scope of inter-American cooperation in economic fields through the Organization of American States. An opportunity to consider these problems in the broadest continental sense was given by the initiative of the President of Brazil. Last May, President Kubitschek wrote to President Eisenhower<sup>4</sup> concerning the desirability of reviewing the strength of our hemisphere relations and determining what measures, particularly in the economic field, will be desirable to give added vitality to the solidarity and cooperation of the American Republics. As a result of President Eisenhower's cordial response and the favorable reaction that was evoked throughout the other American nations, a renewed effort to work out additional measures of economic cooperation was launched. The Brazilian President gave this effort the name of "Operation Pan America."

Last September the Foreign Ministers of the American Republics meeting informally in Washington agreed to establish a Special Committee under the aegis of the OAS to work out the further measures of economic cooperation under the broad concept of Operation Pan America.<sup>5</sup> This Committee has met once in Washington and will meet at the end of this month again in Buenos Aires.

As it now appears, there will emerge from this Buenos Aires conference a number of important decisions covering a wide variety of economic activities. They will in no sense pretend to resolve all economic problems of the hemisphere. They should, however, constitute a concrete and positive achievement in two respects: (1) to reassure the peoples of all the American Republics of the sincere and strong desire of all the American states to work together for the economic progress of the entire OAS family; and (2) to establish the structure of a more effective cooperation with respect to certain basic problems.

First, the OAS will undertake a broader and

<sup>4</sup> For text of President Kubitschek's letter and President Eisenhower's reply, see *ibid.*, June 30, 1958, p. 1090.

<sup>5</sup> For text of communique, see *ibid.*, Oct. 13, 1958, p. 575.



more intensified program of analyzing with individual countries the specific economic problems they face at the present stage of development. Each Latin American country which wishes to avail itself of this service will thereby be enabled to obtain a clearer and better picture of the nature of its problems and, therefore, of the steps it should take to encourage the forces of economic progress to get under way more rapidly.

Second, the American nations will have at their disposal a new financial institution, the charter of which has been drafted during the past 3 months by a special committee convened for that purpose by the Inter-American Economic and Social Council.<sup>6</sup> One of the most important functions of the new institution will be to assist the member governments in formulating their economic plans and in preparing specific projects that will merit sympathetic consideration for financing.

Third, additional sources of both public and private capital will become available. The first and most significant step forward in this respect is the establishment of the Inter-American Development Bank, to which I have just referred. It will have initially a total capital of \$1 billion, which may be increased to \$1.5 billion. Its exclusive attention to Latin America will assure the most sympathetic possible consideration of the needs of those countries for additional public capital.

Moreover, as a result of the deliberations of the Special Committee, additional emphasis will be placed upon the study of methods for encouraging the wider investment of private capital in the Latin American area. This large and difficult problem is a constant source of interest and concern on the part of all governments that desire to promote economic progress in Latin America. With the strains upon the budget of the United States because of its many commitments throughout the world in the interest of strengthening freedom and independence, and with stringent budget situations in many of the Latin American countries, the investment of capital needed for economic growth in Latin America, or anywhere else, must depend in large measure upon the great resources of private enterprise. Some Latin American countries have made notable progress in this respect. That progress can be accelerated by further attention to the concrete

problems of private investment, and in that effort the OAS will lend renewed and extended assistance to the member governments, although the responsibility necessarily rests on these governments.

Fourth, as a result of the studies of economic cooperation through the OAS during the past year, it is planned to hold periodic conferences in which member governments will be represented by their top economists. The function of these conferences will be to review the economic development in each country and, by an exchange of views at this high level of economic competence and skill, to obtain clearer ideas on how specific problems can be dealt with and how progress can be maintained.

#### Problems for Future Attention

The foregoing does not in any sense exhaust the ideas and suggestions which would be considered by the Special Committee at its meeting in Buenos Aires at the end of this month. Nor does it in any sense, as I have indicated, exhaust the problems that face the American nations. Several problems must necessarily be left to the future and the continuing positive attention of the member governments.

For example, the problem of commodities remains a major one affecting the economic life of the American Republics. Dependent as they are upon export of foodstuffs and raw materials to the world markets, and principally the United States, the Latin American countries are highly sensitive to the fluctuations of marketing conditions, particularly prices of the products they sell. Excessive fluctuations in these prices create problems both for selling and purchasing countries. Yet the question of how to curb these excessive fluctuations remains one of the most difficult in the whole field of international economic cooperation. At this stage the OAS has encouraged the establishment of study groups on certain specific commodities and will continue to encourage the search for practical measures that will help meet this all-important problem.

The movement for a more effective treatment of economic problems through the OAS is in full swing. The present stage of developments in this respect presents a justifiable cause for optimism and renewed confidence in our inter-American regional system. Economic problems are in many

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, May 4, 1959, p. 646.

respects more complex than any others which the OAS has attempted to handle heretofore. To cite only one illustration, it must be borne in mind that problems of international trade can rarely be approached on an exclusively regional basis. Even a problem such as that of the coffee trade, which is predominantly related to Latin America, cannot be dealt with satisfactorily without taking into account the part which other areas of the world also play. Thus regional efforts must be coordinated with those of a worldwide scope in many cases.

In fact the efforts of any regional organization in any field of activity must be related to and integrated with the worldwide efforts of the member states, and others, who are joined in the United Nations. The great advantage of the Organization of American States is that it draws upon the special tradition of cooperation and the experience of common action that have been developed in this hemisphere. Regional problems can be approached with maximum understanding both of the nature of the problems and the methods for resolving them. In no other area has this been better demonstrated than in the maintenance of peace and security, where prompt action by the regional organization, working in the context of a long historical development of peaceful and legal methods for resolving disputes, has borne particularly good fruit.

These efforts in no way conflict with those of the United Nations. The unanimous view of the American states in that respect is evidenced by their statement in the charter of the OAS that the Organization is a regional agency within the United Nations and that nothing in the charter of the OAS shall be construed as impairing the rights and obligations of the American states under the charter of the United Nations.

The Organization of American States represents an experience perhaps unique in history of the gradually greater sharing of responsibility regarding basic problems among a group of countries, ranging from the smallest to the largest and most powerful. A half century ago the United States assumed for itself the responsibility for maintaining peace in this hemisphere. We now share that responsibility with the other members of the OAS. In the fields of economic affairs we are increasingly working out with our sister republics the mechanisms that will enable us

likewise to share the responsibility for coping with problems directly affecting the basic economic welfare of all the member states. This process offers to all the American states a great opportunity to help build a free world based upon mutual respect and cooperation.

The OAS is, therefore, both a practical reality and a symbol of an ideal toward which we are striving in our international relationships. It has significance far beyond its immediate area of application. It is the antithesis of the imperialistic subordination of smaller states which is practiced by the Communist powers. It is an instrument of inter-American cooperation which we are gradually perfecting. As this is done, we will increase the faith of peoples everywhere in their own ability to achieve with dignity and independence those two objectives so deeply rooted in the life of the American Continent: the preservation of freedom and the development of a better life for mankind.

### **U.S. Ambassadors Meet at Santiago**

The Department of State announced on April 24 (press release 283) that a conference of the U.S. Ambassadors from the 10 countries of South America will be held at Santiago, Chile, on May 7, 8, and 9. Ambassadors from U.S. missions in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela will attend.

Officers of the Department of State attending the conference will be headed by Deputy Under Secretary Loy W. Henderson and will include Roy R. Rubottom, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, and Ambassador John C. Dreier, U.S. representative on the OAS Council. Rollin S. Atwood, ICA Regional Director for Latin American Operations, and G. Lewis Schmidt, Acting Assistant Director for Latin America of the U.S. Information Agency, will also participate.

The meeting, like that held at San Salvador from April 9 to 11 and attended by the U.S. Ambassadors in the 12 countries of the Caribbean and Central American area,<sup>1</sup> will provide an opportunity for an exchange of views on current political and economic developments in the area in their relation to U.S. policy.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of May 4, 1959, p. 634.



## Comments on the Responsibility of States

*by Loftus Becker*  
*Legal Adviser<sup>1</sup>*

The relations between the United States and Latin America are close. They are close not only because of geography but because of common ideals and aspirations for a fuller life, lived in peace and decency, which have inspired the peoples of this hemisphere. Our mutual relations in recent years have witnessed our joint effort in defeating common enemies and in establishing our mutual security against future contingencies.

These recent years have also witnessed increasingly closer economic cooperation between the United States and Latin America to meet those pressing needs of the present and future which have been impressed upon the public imagination through the phrase "economic development." There is no doubt that the desire on the part of the peoples of the hemisphere for physical betterment and, through it, a richer life is the driving force in the Americas today.

This is as it should be. The magic of science, technology, and industry, together with the rising skills and educational levels of our peoples has brought home to all the fact that poverty and hopelessness no longer need be tolerated because nothing can be done. Our peoples know that these things need not be the "way of the world," that they can be diminished and abolished through the cooperative efforts of human beings. Human beings, acting cooperatively, can apply science, technology, and industry to the process of capital formation so as to increase the productivity of

human beings—increase their output of the things that they need to eat, to wear, to house themselves, to educate themselves, and to enjoy a richer mental and spiritual life.

There are many ways in which the necessary capital can be accumulated and put to work efficiently to achieve these ends. The United States and the Latin American Republics have testified very recently to their conviction that all avenues which lead to the formation and application of capital to the needs of economic development must be used, to the exclusion of none.

On April 8, 1959—just 6 days ago—after 3 months of negotiation, a Specialized Committee convened by the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, which is the principal economic organ of the Organization of American States, opened for signature the Final Act resulting from its deliberations, including as a part thereof the draft of an agreement for the establishment of an Inter-American Development Bank.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of the Bank, with an authorized capital stock and a fund for special operations totaling \$1 billion, is "to contribute to the acceleration of the process of economic development of the member countries, individually and collectively." To implement this purpose, the draft articles of agreement make clear that, among its functions, the first and foremost function of the Bank is "to promote the investment of public and private capital for development purposes." There could be no clearer recognition that in the process of economic development there is a need for increasing amounts of both public and private capital in

<sup>1</sup> Address made before the Inter-American Bar Association at Miami, Fla., on Apr. 14 (press release 262 dated Apr. 13).

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of May 4, 1959, p. 646.

order to achieve the economic development which is so necessary.

It has been truly said that law in a democracy exists for the sake of the people's interests that may be vindicated and protected thereby. In view of the overriding public interest which requires economic development through public and private investment for development purposes, nothing we lawyers do can be more important than to foster this overriding public purpose, and nothing that we can refrain from doing is more important than to avoid interfering with the accomplishment of this public purpose. Just as we facilitate public and private investment through the creation of institutions such as the Inter-American Development Bank, which will be able to lend money to both public and private organizations for economic development purposes, so we should avoid undercutting economic development through so-called legal principles which create a climate not conducive to economic development.

I am not here taking issue with the right of any country to take private property for public purposes upon payment of just compensation. The right of a country to do that is not and never has been an issue. The Constitution of the United States confirms both the right of the Government of the United States to take private property for public use and its obligations to pay just compensation when it does so. This is in accord with international law. What I am talking about is an effort which has been made by some to establish legal principles which can amount to a state's taking private property without just compensation. In this connection I should like to discuss with you some recent events at the 1958 meeting of the Inter-American Juridical Committee in Rio de Janeiro, which, in my opinion, have been unhelpful in achieving our common objectives.

#### **Principles Stated by Juridical Committee**

The Tenth Inter-American Conference held at Caracas in 1954 adopted a resolution reading as follows:

To recommend to the Inter-American Council of Jurists and its permanent committee, the Inter-American Juridical Committee of Rio de Janeiro, the preparation of a study or report on the contribution the American Continent has made to the development and to the codification of the principles of international law that govern the responsibility of the State.

The resolution was considered by the Inter-American Juridical Committee at its 1958 meeting. The Committee recommended that the American Governments "incorporate into an appropriate convention, statement, or similar instrument the principles that should govern the international responsibility of the state." On page 8 of the Committee's report the following statement appears:

With respect to this, we believe that such an instrument might include, among others, the following principles that have been accepted by a majority of our countries, and which, in our opinion, form part of Latin American international law as well as, in certain aspects, of American international law.

Since the report of the Committee will next be considered by the Inter-American Council of Jurists in August of this year and possibly by the next Inter-American Conference, it may be useful to discuss some of the alleged principles. One of them is the following:

The state is not responsible for acts or omissions with respect to aliens except in those cases where it has, under its own laws, the same responsibility toward its nationals.

It seems clear that, if that alleged principle is accepted and a state expropriates property of an alien, it is not obligated to pay compensation therefor if under its laws it is not obligated to pay compensation with respect to expropriated property of its national. This is, of course, contrary to generally accepted principles of international law which require a state to pay compensation for the taking of private property of aliens. For example, in an unanimous decision of the General Claims Commission, United States and Mexico, under the convention of September 8, 1923, it was stated in the claim of the Melzer Mining Company that:

It is unnecessary to cite legal authority in support of the statement that an alien is entitled to compensation for confiscated property. (*Opinions*, 1929, pages 228 and 233.)

Consequently the fact that the domestic law may or may not provide compensation is wholly irrelevant. The supremacy of international law over domestic law is clearly established by decisions of the Permanent Court of International Justice. In the case of the *Free Zones of Upper Savoy*, the court held that "... it is certain that France cannot rely on her own legislation to limit the scope of her international obligations. ..."

(Series A/B number 46 (1932).)<sup>3</sup> The Permanent Court held similarly in its opinion on *Treatment of Polish Nationals in Danzig* that "a State cannot adduce as against another State its own Constitution with a view to evading obligations incumbent upon it under international law. . . ." (Series A/B number 44 (1932).)<sup>4</sup> See also additional authorities on this point in the Report of the Agent for the United States in the Shufelt claim (United States) against Guatemala (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1932, pages 77 to 81 and 599 to 602; also the decision of the arbitrator, pages 851 and 871).

In the light of the foregoing it is clear that the principle as stated by the Juridical Committee would run counter to accepted principles of international law unless it is amended by adding language along the following lines: ". . . except where the treatment of the alien is in contravention of accepted principles of international law." That language is patterned after article 3 of the Convention Relative to the Rights of Aliens signed by 15 American Republics at Mexico City in 1902, which provided for the presentation of claims in diplomatic channels in cases involving a denial of justice "or of evident violation of the principles of international law."

Another alleged principle is stated by the Inter-American Juridical Committee in the following terms:

The state is not responsible for damages suffered by aliens as a result of fortuitous [unforeseen] events, among which are included acts of insurrection and civil war.

If this paragraph could properly be interpreted, or limited, to mean that a state is not responsible for so-called war damages, that is, damages incident to the conduct of military operations, it would be acceptable. However, as drafted it would seem to exclude responsibility for losses or damages sustained from the requisitioning of property of aliens by the constituted authorities, or by revolutionary forces which are successful, for which losses the state is regarded as responsible under generally accepted principles of international law. (See "Harvard Research in International Law," 23 *American Journal of In-*

*ternational Law*, Supplement, April 1929, pages 195 and 196; Nielsen, *International Law Applied to Reclamations*, pages 31 and 32; Ralston, *The Law and Procedure of International Tribunals*, pages 343 and 344.)

We now come to the final alleged principle of international law as asserted by the Juridical Committee in the following terms (pages 8 to 9):

The responsibility of the state, insofar as judicial protection is concerned, should be considered fulfilled when it places the necessary national courts and resources at the disposal of aliens every time they exercise their rights. A state cannot make diplomatic representations in order to protect its nationals or to refer a controversy to a court of international jurisdiction for that purpose, when the said nationals have had available the means to place their case before the competent courts of the respective state.

Therefore:

a. There is no denial of justice when aliens have had available the means to place their cases before the competent domestic courts of the respective state.

b. The state has fulfilled its international responsibility when the judicial authority passes down its decision, even though it declares the claim, action, or recourse brought by the alien to be inadmissible.

c. The state has no international responsibility with regard to the judicial decision, whatever it may be, even if it is not satisfactory to the claimant.

d. The state is responsible for damages suffered by aliens when it is guilty of a denial of justice.

#### **Pact of Bogotá**

That part of the draft relating to such matters as diplomatic protection, the exhaustion of remedies, and denial of justice is of considerable importance in the inter-American field of foreign relations and the encouragement of foreign investments. Apparently the principles announced are largely the outgrowth of article VII of the Pact of Bogotá, which provides as follows:

The High Contracting Parties bind themselves not to make diplomatic representations in order to protect their nationals, or to refer a controversy to a court of international jurisdiction for that purpose, when the said nationals have had available the means to place their case before competent domestic courts of the respective state.

The Argentine Republic signed the Bogotá Pact with a reservation that it did not adhere to several articles, including article VII. The United States also signed with the following reservation:

The Government of the United States cannot accept Article VII relating to diplomatic protection and the exhaustion of remedies. For its part, the Government of

<sup>3</sup> II Hudson, *World Court Reports*, pp. 508 and 561.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 788 and 804.

the United States maintains the rules of diplomatic protection, including the rule of exhaustion of local remedies by aliens, as provided by international law.

Although the pact was signed some 11 years ago, only 9 of the 21 American Republics have ratified it. With respect to that situation, we may refer to the decision of the International Court of Justice in the *Colombian-Peruvian Asylum* case. I quote from the majority decision of the Court (page 277):

It is particularly the Montevideo Convention of 1933 which Counsel for the Colombian Government has also relied on in this connexion. It is contended that this Convention has merely codified principles which were already recognized by Latin-American custom, and that it is valid against Peru as a proof of customary law. The limited number of States which have ratified this Convention reveals the weakness of this argument. . . .

The International Court apparently was not impressed, although the 1933 convention had been ratified by 11 American states. The Pact of Bogotá has been ratified by only 9 states. Is there any justification, therefore, for contending that the provision quoted from the Pact of Bogotá represents "American international law" or "Latin American international law," when a considerable majority of the American states have not ratified the pact?

#### The OAS Charter Provision

In contrast, at the same conference at Bogotá, held in 1948, the charter of the Organization of American States was signed, article 5 of which provides, in part, as follows:<sup>5</sup>

The American States reaffirm the following principles:  
a) *International law* is the standard of conduct of States in their reciprocal relations;

b) International order consists essentially of respect for the personality, sovereignty and independence of States, and the faithful fulfillment of obligations derived from treaties and other sources of *international law*. . . .

Article 7 provides:

*Every American State has the duty to respect the rights enjoyed by every other State in accordance with international law.*

I point out that nothing is said in the charter of the Organization of American States about "American international law"—much less "Latin

American international law." The charter employs the term "international law" in unmodified form, meaning customary international law as it is generally understood. It does not refer to some alleged regional concepts. It is important to stress the fact that the charter was signed and ratified by each and every one of the 21 American Republics, and as far as I am aware it is the latest unanimous pronouncement of the American Republics regarding the matter.

While paragraph VI(d) of the Juridical Committee's report, which I have just quoted at length, declares that a "state is responsible for damages suffered by aliens when it is guilty of a denial of justice," that paragraph is for all practical purposes nullified, insofar as it relates to judicial proceedings in which an alien may be a plaintiff or defendant, by the preceding paragraphs, which provide, in effect, that the state has fulfilled its international responsibility when a court hands down its decision, "whatever it may be."

There is an anachronistic air which hovers about the recommendations of the Inter-American Juridical Committee. It is an air which connotes fear rather than confidence. The Juridical Committee would have us believe that the countries of Latin America are unable to accept the public and private investments necessary to their economic development because of a lack of confidence that they can protect them.

Doctrines such as those which the Juridical Committee has enunciated are out of tune with the needs and aspirations of the peoples and states of Latin America. They undercut the work which is being done to promote public and private investments, as, for example, the new Inter-American Development Bank. They are a throwback to a bygone era when states were not concerned with the encouragement of foreign investment or with their ability to promote the lot of the common man. After all, the lot of the common man within a state is the primary responsibility of that state. Those with responsibility within a state—whether officials or the intelligent populace—need, I submit, to concern themselves with providing a safe environment for the investment of foreign capital and industry. Irresponsible statements by jurists within the American Republics in the direction of avoiding responsibility can have only an opposite effect.

<sup>5</sup> Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2361, pp. 27 and 28 (italics added).



## International Commerce and the Paths to Peace

*Remarks by President Eisenhower<sup>1</sup>*

The coming together, anywhere, of businessmen from more than 50 countries—men of high competence and common purpose—must surely benefit them all. It proves again that the whole can be greater than the sum of its parts. That this Congress should have taken place in the United States is a circumstance of which I and all my countrymen are proud indeed. We trust you have sensed the warmth and sincerity of your welcome here.

Some of you perhaps are visiting us for the first time. Others are old friends. In either case, while you are here we want you to see all you can of our country because in gaining an understanding of a region and its people there is no substitute for personal visitation and observation. You will not be pleased with everything you see. Neither are we. But you will see us as we are; you will form your own opinions, and you will gain in knowledge and in understanding. Along this road—and it is of course a two-way road—lies international understanding and the hope for peace.

The theme of this 17th biennial Congress, "Today's Challenge to Businessmen—Their Responsibilities in Domestic and World Affairs," is of universal interest. Probably every one of the subjects you have considered so carefully in your sessions is also a concern of governments. Sound money, high employment, rising standards of living, the movement and marketing of goods and services—all these and more present problems that face both men of business and men of government. And I break no government security when I say we hope that businessmen will come up with some of the solutions.

Your actions, your discussions, your decisions—not only in this Congress but more importantly in your day-to-day commerce with each other—hold the free world's hope for progress toward greater unity and firmer mutual strength. For our strength must come from growth. Perhaps you will permit me to repeat to you what I said

<sup>1</sup> Made before the International Chamber of Commerce at Washington, D.C., on Apr. 23 (White House press release).

to another group meeting here in Washington just 10 days ago.<sup>2</sup> I said:

... the free nations urgently need economic growth and the free communication of ideas. . . .

We are challenged to prove that any nation, wherever it is, whatever its strength, can prosper in freedom, that slavery is not necessary to economic growth even in the atmosphere of a cold war of conflicting ideologies. We will have to show that people need not choose between freedom and bread; they can earn both through their own efforts. We must prove . . . that in providing for man's material needs private enterprise is infinitely superior to Communist state capitalism.

So I believe that this is today's challenge to businessmen: the challenge to prove that the free-market economy which the International Chamber of Commerce has championed so long and so well can outproduce any other kind of economy known to man.

Since the days of Marco Polo the march of civilization has tramped down the trade routes of the world. Commerce between peoples moves more than products. It distributes ideas and technologies. It develops mutual understandings and cooperative efforts toward common goals.

And never has this been truer than it is today. The old saying was that "trade follows the flag." Today, in a very definite way, "the flag follows trade." But the flag of which I speak is an international banner, that of freedom and peace.

As you return home from these meetings to plunge once again into your business activities, I trust that you will hold firmly in your programs and policies to the basic thought that the trade routes of international commerce are also the paths to peace.

Thank you—good fortune and goodbye.

## World Trade Week, 1959

### A PROCLAMATION<sup>1</sup>

WHEREAS commerce among the nations contributes to the economic stability and progress of the United States and its trading partners; and

WHEREAS international trade provides regular and direct lines of communication between the peoples of the

<sup>1</sup> For text of President Eisenhower's remarks before the Advertising Council on Apr. 13, see BULLETIN of May 4, 1959, p. 620.

<sup>2</sup> No. 3286; 24 Fed. Reg. 3265.



world, thus stimulating mutual respect and understanding which are the groundwork of peace; and

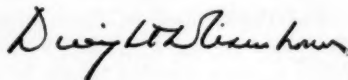
WHEREAS growing competition in international trade requires that greater effort be made in this vital area:

Now, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning May 17, 1959, as World Trade Week; and I request the appropriate officials of the Federal Government, and of the State and local governments, to cooperate in the observance of that week.

I also urge business, labor, agricultural, educational, and civic groups, as well as individual citizens, to observe World Trade Week with gatherings, discussions, exhibits, ceremonies, and other appropriate activities designed to promote continuing awareness of the importance of world trade to our economy and to our relations with other nations.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this twenty-second day of April in the year of our Lord nineteen [SEAL] hundred and fifty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-third.



By the President:

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER,  
Secretary of State.

## Secretary Acknowledges Greetings of Department Personnel

### *Remarks by Secretary Herter<sup>1</sup>*

Press release 280 dated April 22

All I can say is that this is completely unexpected and I can't tell you how touched I am. As one who began public life in the State Department, it is, of course, a tremendous thrill to be allowed to feel that I can now perhaps help all of us who are working as a team together in the tremendously important job we all have to try

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<sup>1</sup> Made informally on Apr. 22 at the main entrance of the Department of State building, where the Secretary was greeted by personnel of the Department following his return from his swearing-in ceremony at the White House.

to keep this country at peace and the world at peace.

I only wish I had time now to shake hands with every one of you. I'm sorry I can't. But I do want you to know that my heart is very warm at this moment, and I am hoping in the days to come I will have a chance to see each of you and thank you all for this very fine reception.

Thank you.

## Mr. Dulles Becomes Special Consultant to the President

White House press release dated April 23

The President on April 23 attended the swearing-in ceremony of John Foster Dulles as Special Consultant to the President. Mr. Dulles will serve in this capacity with Cabinet rank. The ceremony took place at Walter Reed Hospital.

In his letter accepting Secretary Dulles' resignation as Secretary of State,<sup>1</sup> the President requested Mr. Dulles to serve as a consultant to him and to the State Department in the field of international affairs to the extent that his health will permit.

After Mr. Dulles had taken the oath of office, the President told him:

Your willingness to continue to contribute your abundant talents and unique experience to the service of the United States and the free world is but one more example of your magnificent spirit and devotion to the Nation's welfare.

It is highly gratifying not only to myself and the Secretary of State—but indeed to the people of the Nation—to know that we both shall continue to have the benefit of your advice and counsel.

Mr. Dulles replied:

Mr. President: For 6 years and more I have served as your Secretary of State. The relationship has been one of intimate understanding and effective cooperation which has afforded me deep satisfaction. Unhappily, my health no longer permits me to continue with the manifold responsibilities of that great office. Yesterday my trusted friend and second in command, Mr. Herter, took over. I am proud that he and his associates in the Department of State and Foreign Service constitute a team that is highly qualified to carry on your basic policies.

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<sup>1</sup> For text, see BULLETIN of May 4, 1959, p. 619.

You, I know, share the same pride and confidence.

I now assume, at your request, the position of Special Consultant to the President. I am grateful to you for wanting me to serve in this capacity. I accept in the hope that I shall thus be able to assist you and the Secretary of State in the solution of problems which will continue to confront our Nation in its quest of a just and honorable peace.

In addition to the President, others attending the ceremony included the Vice President, the Secretary of State, Mrs. John Foster Dulles, the Director of Central Intelligence, and the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs.

## **President Sends Congratulations to American Federation of Arts**

*Message of President Eisenhower<sup>1</sup>*

APRIL 23, 1959

DEAR MR. NEUBERGER: It is a pleasure to send greetings to those attending the Fiftieth Anniversary Convention of the American Federation of Arts. In this divided world, it is good to be reminded of the universality of the arts. In Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas, the artist speaks a sensitive language full of meaning for mankind. This language cannot be confined; freedom is essential to all creative work.

For half a century the American Federation of Arts has been a strong force behind the growth of art appreciation in the United States. Its exhibitions have brought the arts to people throughout the national community—and to our neighbors abroad. Its standards of quality, free of any bias, have been as deep as the human heart and as high as the spirit.

I am delighted to add my personal congratulations and best wishes.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT EISENHOWER

Mr. ROY R. NEUBERGER

*President*

*The American Federation of Arts*

*1083 Fifth Avenue*

*New York 28, New York*

<sup>1</sup>Read by Under Secretary of State Douglas Dillon before the American Federation of Arts at Washington, D.C., on Apr. 24 (press release 284).

## **King Baudouin of Belgium Visits United States**

The Department of State announced on April 24 (press release 285) that arrangements have been completed for the visit of King Baudouin of the Belgians, who will visit the United States at the invitation of President Eisenhower.

King Baudouin, accompanied by Belgian officials, will arrive at Washington on May 11. The party will remain in Washington until May 14, when they will begin a trip which will include visits to Detroit, Mich.; Chicago, Ill.; Dallas and El Paso (Fort Bliss), Tex.; Los Angeles, San Francisco, Palo Alto, and Cypress Point, Calif.; Santa Fe, N. Mex.; Omaha, Nebr.; New York, N.Y.; and Norfolk, Va. They will leave for Brussels from Newcastle County Airport at Wilmington, Del., on May 31.

## **Berlin Medical Center Design Completed**

The Department of State announced on April 22 (press release 275) that the design and plans for a modern medical center in Berlin had been made public on April 21 at a meeting of the Benjamin Franklin Foundation at Berlin.

The design, which provides for all the newest features of a medical treatment, teaching, and research center, was developed by Arthur Davis, of New Orleans, with associated architects Moreland Griffith Smith, of Montgomery, Ala., and Franz Mocken, of Berlin. When completed, the group of buildings will include a 1,200-bed hospital and the most advanced examination, therapeutics, teaching, X-ray, and operating facilities. The center will also provide for treatment of an estimated 300,000 outpatients.

Funds for the project will be provided jointly by the U.S. mutual security program and the city of Berlin.

The first stage of the project, which will be a self-contained operating unit of approximately 600 beds with related services, is expected to be completed by early 1961 at a cost of approximately \$15 million. Construction of the second stage, which is planned to provide double the number of hospital beds with a variety of supporting facilities, will begin shortly after the first stage is completed.

The Benjamin Franklin Foundation, a non-profit organization incorporated in Berlin under the chairmanship of American architect Leon K. Chatelain, Jr., of Washington, D.C., is exercising leadership in developing the program and design and in handling the financing for the project.

### **Daniel Hofgren Appointed to Board of Foreign Scholarships**

The President on April 17 appointed Daniel W. Hofgren to be a member of the Board of Foreign Scholarships for the remainder of the term expiring September 22, 1959, vice Katherine Blyley, resigned.

### **Under Secretary Dillon Returns From Meetings in Far East**

*Statement by Under Secretary Dillon*

Press release 272 dated April 19

I am returning from the SEATO Council meeting in Wellington,<sup>1</sup> brief stopovers in Canberra, Djakarta, and Manila, and the annual conference of our ambassadors in the Far East, which was held this year at Baguio in the Philippines.

I return from the SEATO meeting confident that this organization, by providing a defensive military shield behind which the members can continue their economic and social progress in freedom, is serving the best interests of the entire free world. The meeting was remarkable for its fine spirit of cooperation. Under the able leadership of Prime Minister Nash of New Zealand, we had free and frank discussions of all matters affecting the treaty area. We agreed that the bulwark of defense against Communist aggression and subversion must be continually strengthened, that living standards throughout the area must be raised, and that SEATO's cooperative programs in the economic, social, and cultural fields should be continued and enlarged.

My visits to Canberra, Djakarta, and Manila

<sup>1</sup> For an address made by Mr. Dillon at the meeting, the text of the final communiqué, and a report on SEATO by the Secretary General, see BULLETIN of Apr. 27, 1959, pp. 602 and 605.

provided welcome opportunities to renew associations with leaders in those capitals and to discuss with them matters of mutual interest. In Baguio I had the opportunity of hearing first hand from our ambassadors in the Far East about conditions in the area and of participating with them in useful discussions of current problems. I also reported to the meeting on developments in areas other than the Far East.

All of these talks have been valuable contributions to our continuing effort to help find answers to the common problems that face the nations of SEATO and our other friends in Asia.

### **U.S. Extends Validations for Newsmen To Go to Communist China**

Press release 281 dated April 23

The Department of State is extending for 1 year the passport validations of correspondents of the 30 American news organizations authorized to send one representative each to Communist China. These validations, now expiring May 22, will be extended upon presentation of the passports to the Department of State's Passport Office or to certain consulates.

With but one exception, none of the designated organizations has been permitted by the Chinese Communist regime to send a correspondent into Communist China since the Department announced on August 22, 1957,<sup>1</sup> its present policy of validating the passports of a limited number of American correspondents to go to the China mainland. It may be recalled that the Chinese Communist regime invited certain American newsmen to visit Communist China prior to August 22, 1957. However, when the Department authorized certain news organizations to send one representative each to Communist China, the Peiping regime refused to grant visas.

The Peiping regime has attempted to justify this refusal by charging that the U.S. Government was not granting reciprocity. However, the Department has repeatedly made it clear that, if any bona fide Chinese Communist newspaperman should apply for a visa, the Secretary of State is prepared to consider recommending to the Attorney General a waiver under the law so that

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Sept. 9, 1957, p. 420.

a visa could be granted. Not one Chinese Communist correspondent has yet filed an application. American law does not permit the Department to do what the Chinese Communists demand, which is to agree in advance to admit an equal number of Chinese Communists, even before their identities are known to us. If the Chinese Communists were indeed interested in reciprocity, they would have an equal number of Chinese newsmen apply for visas.

The American news organizations accredited by the Department on the basis of the established criteria, namely, that they had demonstrated sufficient interest in foreign news coverage to maintain at least one full-time American correspondent overseas and that they wished to be represented in Communist China for 6 months or longer, are the

following: American Broadcasting Co., Associated Press, Baltimore *Sun*, Chicago *Daily News*, Chicago *Tribune*, *Christian Science Monitor*, Columbia Broadcasting System, Copley Press, Inc., Cowles Publications, Denver *Post*, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Fairchild Publications, McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., Inc., Minneapolis *Star and Tribune*, Mutual Broadcasting System, National Broadcasting Co., Newspaper Enterprise Association, Inc., New York *Herald Tribune*, New York *Times*, *Newsweek*, North American Newspaper Alliance, *Reader's Digest*, St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, *Saturday Evening Post*, Scripps-Howard Newspapers, Time Inc., United Press International, *U.S. News and World Report*, *Wall Street Journal*, and Westinghouse Broadcasting Co., Inc.

## United States-Vietnamese Cooperation: The ICA Program Since 1955

by Leland Barrows<sup>1</sup>

The United States Operations Mission—USOM, as it is commonly called in Viet-Nam—is only one element in the team which, under the leadership of the American Ambassador, represents the United States in Viet-Nam. USOM's job is twofold. First, it administers the financial assistance, largely in the form of imported goods and equipment, which has enabled the Vietnamese economy to survive the extraordinary strains and stresses of the past 4 years and to support the armed forces needed for national defense. Second, USOM provides technical assistance to the civilian sector of the Vietnamese Government and economy in the form of services of American and other foreign specialists and training

programs at home and abroad for Vietnamese students and officials. Other elements of the American official family provide material and technical help to Viet-Nam, as do many private American philanthropic and religious organizations, of which one must count, among the most important, the American Friends of Vietnam.

During the 4 years I was Director of USOM in Viet-Nam American economic aid totaled \$983 million. This is a very large amount of money. Yet it is less than the amount spent by the United States to provide military equipment and supplies to the forces engaged in the war against the Communists in Indochina in the 3 years from 1951 to 1954 and only a little larger than the amount the United States agreed to provide toward the cost of fighting that war during its last year. I make this comparison to remind you that the cost of maintaining peace through giving aid to a strong and reliable ally is certain to be less than

<sup>1</sup> Address made before the American Friends of Vietnam at Washington, D.C., on Apr. 17 (press release 270). Mr. Barrows is Regional Director for the Near East and South Asia, International Cooperation Administration. He was Director of the U.S. Operations Mission to Viet-Nam from October 1954 to November 1958.



the cost of a war. This comparison may also give you some measure of the level of economic activity associated with the conduct of the war in Indochina and thus an understanding of the financial and budgetary problems which confronted the Government of Viet-Nam and those of the other Indochinese states when they began their separate economic existences following the armistice of 1954.

#### **Forms of U.S. Economic Aid**

Of the various purposes for which this large amount of money was used, technical cooperation took the smallest proportion—\$12 million, 1.2 percent—yet was in some respects the most pervasive and far-reaching in its benefits. Technical cooperation funds have provided specialized assistance to supplement and assist trained Vietnamese personnel in many fields of civilian activity. They have financed the training of Vietnamese personnel abroad and have provided specialized equipment for demonstration and study. During the period at which we are looking today, USOM's largest technical cooperation effort was actually conducted by the Michigan State University group, whose work in the field of public administration and police administration is famous in Viet-Nam and is certainly known to most of you here. But the technical cooperation program covered a wide variety of other activities, touching in one way or another nearly every phase of civilian governmental activity and supporting the reconstruction and development projects financed by American aid.

At the other extreme, the largest proportion of American aid funds—more than 80 percent of the total, in fact—was used to provide what, in the lexicon of ICA, is called nonproject assistance. I am sorry to inflict this particular bit of technical jargon on you today, but I know no way to avoid it if you are to understand clearly how American aid has been used in Viet-Nam and why it has taken the form it took. Nonproject aid means money or credits to purchase commodities and equipment needed to enable the Vietnamese economy to operate at the level necessary to achieve our common objectives. Nonproject aid takes the form of raw materials and fuel for industry, spare parts and new machines, as well as essential consumption goods. In Viet-Nam non-

project aid finances about 80 percent of the nation's imports.

The third form of economic aid provided to Viet-Nam—accounting for \$96 million in 4 years—we call project assistance. This is aid in the form of goods and services provided directly to Government agencies or autonomous entities, such as the state railways, for the purpose of building or rebuilding some specific enterprise of economic value. Project aid has included such varied undertakings as, for example, the provision of well-drilling rigs and trained personnel to teach and supervise their use, steel rails and bridges for reconstruction of the war-damaged national railway, trucks and tractors for land development, and equipment and medicines for Government hospitals throughout the country.

One other technical feature of American aid, the counterpart fund, requires explanation at this point. On the one hand, many of the urgent problems with which the Government of Viet-Nam was confronted in 1955, and indeed is still confronted today, required the expenditure not of foreign exchange but of Vietnamese currency. On the other hand, the nonproject aid to which I have referred could be, and in fact is, administered in such a way as to help meet this need for local currency. With very minor exceptions, all nonproject aid goods are sold to the private sector of the Vietnamese economy for cash. Receipts from these sales are by agreement deposited in a special account in the National Bank of Viet-Nam, from which they are transferred as required to the military budget or to other accounts of the Vietnamese Government. By this means the local currency proceeds of nonproject aid are used to support the armed forces and to pay some of the local-currency costs of the many technical assistance and capital projects. In 1955 Viet-Nam was able to make only a small local-currency contribution to projects. Each year that contribution has increased—both in amount and as a percentage of the total—so that by 1958 it covered more than half of the piaster cost of aid-supported projects.

So much by way of technical preparation. Now I think we can usefully take a closer and more detailed look at the economic aid program. For this purpose I should like to proceed chronologically. Without depriving ourselves of the precious advantage of hindsight, I hope I can, year by year, reconstruct in some measure the problems,



conditions, and atmosphere of past years in Viet-Nam so you will better understand the decisions and actions that were taken.

#### **First Year—1954-55**

Let us return now to the first year, October 1954 to October 1955. This was a period dominated by political and military struggle in Viet-Nam. It began in doubt and discouragement and ended with the national referendum, a dramatic demonstration of political strength and popular confidence. In October 1954 the authority of the Government was everywhere contested. Large areas of the countryside were still in Viet Minh hands, since under the terms of the Geneva Accords the Communists were not required to yield the last territories until the following May. Other large areas were in the hands of dissident sects, and the city of Saigon was controlled by the forces of the Binh Kuyen. On his side, Ngo Dinh Diem had little more than his own personal moral strength and determination and, as we were to learn, a widespread but then inarticulate popular support.

In the circumstances political struggle to establish the authority of the central government took precedence over all other objectives. The struggle, as you will recall, turned to outright warfare in the spring of 1955. After the brief, bloody, and decisive battle of Saigon, events moved quickly and the way was open to establish peace and freedom throughout the country.

Less dramatic and less well known than the political and military developments of 1955 are the economic and financial problems which the new government also met and solved. It was not easy to make long-range plans when the future was so much in doubt, but much basic work was undertaken and accomplished. Through the means of joint working parties USOM was able to participate in this effort. In fact the basic shape of the American economic aid program, even as it is today, was fixed during this period by the problems with which the Vietnamese Government was then confronted.

To keep this discussion within reasonable limits, I can do no more than touch upon the most important problems with which the aid program dealt. In 1955 two broad areas were foremost in our concern and may be selected as representative of the work of that year. These were basic prob-

lems of the Government of Viet-Nam to which American aid contributed not only substantial amounts of money but also a measure of technical assistance and advice.

The first of these areas I shall call, for want of precise designation, establishing financial autonomy. Remember the situation with which the new government was confronted. Before 1954 Viet-Nam had attained a degree of political autonomy as a member of the Associated States of Indochina, but it did not attain financial autonomy until January 1, 1955. At that time a newly established national bank assumed responsibility for issue and control of the national currency. Administration of customs and trade controls and control of foreign exchange were assumed by Vietnamese administrators. The Vietnamese national army, which until 1955 was paid directly by the French Treasury, became the responsibility of the Vietnamese national budget, and at the same time the United States, through the mechanism of nonproject aid which I have described above, undertook to provide the means with which to meet this obligation.

This is a point I should like to emphasize. When the Vietnamese authorities examined the budget upon taking control of their own financial affairs in 1955, they found normal revenues sufficient to cover normal civilian expenses. They found a separate military budget larger than their civilian budget but financed entirely by funds administered by French military finance authorities. As a matter of fact, these funds came largely, in 1954, from a grant of dollars made by the United States to France. At any rate the first and fundamental financial problem of the new government was found in the fact that the budgetary structure of the country made no provision for supporting military forces yet support of the armed forces was essential to the survival of the country.

Clearly, in a situation of this sort, the first need of American aid was to help solve this problem. This historic fact accounts for the emphasis upon military budget support which has characterized the American aid program in Viet-Nam.

I might add that the cost of the military forces, and their size as well, was reduced drastically during the 4 years that I was in Viet-Nam, in face of the fact that during much of that period the military force was engaged in actual military op-

erations against bandits and Communist guerrillas. Moreover, as my friend and colleague, General Myers,<sup>2</sup> will tell you, the force has grown mightily in strength and effectiveness during the same period.

My first year in Viet-Nam was marked by another extraordinary undertaking of massive proportions and dramatic impact—the refugee movement—Operation Exodus.<sup>3</sup> The whole world knows the story, so I will not retell it here. I should simply like to recall that it was a wonderful and unprecedented adventure, with work and glory enough for all the many people and organizations who took part in it. USOM's role was not the least and not the largest, but we did have responsibility for administering the United States Government funds which bore the bulk of the financial burden—\$55 million in equipment, supplies, and counterpart funds. USOM's most significant contribution came the following year, when, by using an additional \$35 million of United States Government funds to finance, project by project, the establishment of the refugee population in permanent villages, we were able to help the Government of Viet-Nam to complete this vast population movement in only 2 years.

#### **Second Year—1955-56**

The year which began in October 1955 saw substantial progress in every aspect of the American economic aid program in Viet-Nam. Of the many developments during the year, I shall mention only four. Of these, the most dramatic and unquestionably the most successful was the refugee resettlement program, which, as I have already mentioned, completed the job begun the year before.

This year also brought solutions to the problems of foreign trade administration and import licensing. Before 1955, when Viet-Nam was a part of the Associated States, her foreign trade was largely within the French Union. The only foreign currency available in quantity in Viet-Nam was French francs, and, as a consequence, most of the imports into Viet-Nam came from France. With the advent of full financial auton-

omy in 1955 and the allocation of American economic aid directly to Viet-Nam, the country was enabled to trade wherever it liked in the free world. It was in fact obliged, in using American aid, to buy in the most advantageous free-world market.

Before 1955 most of the foreign trade was in the hands of foreign firms and foreign banks, some of which withdrew from business and many of which were hesitant for a time to continue their operations. At the same time many Vietnamese wished to enter commerce, and the Vietnamese Government naturally wanted to encourage formation of Vietnamese commercial houses. All these factors contributed to a period of uncertainty and confusion in the field of commerce, which lasted throughout most of 1955. One aspect of the problem was the springing up of some 20,000 so-called importers. In an effort to meet the demands of these new Vietnamese businessmen, licenses were allocated in such large numbers and small values as to raise prices and slow down the arrivals of merchandise.

This proved to be a temporary difficulty, however, for the Ministry of Economy, under the leadership of the distinguished Vietnamese statesman who is now Vice President of the Republic [Nguyen Ngoc Tho], established new administrative rules which brought order and equity to this important economic area.

The year 1956 also saw a rapid expansion in the project aid provided by the United States. Most important among the developments of this period were actions contributing to agricultural reconstruction. American aid helped to reorganize the administration of agricultural credit and contributed a capital fund of \$10 million in piasters for crop loans and other forms of rural credit. USOM provided technical assistance and administrative funds to the agrarian reform administration for the present widespread program of land reform. Assistance was given in creating an agricultural extension service and a college of agriculture and in launching important projects in crop improvement and livestock breeding. Importation of buffalo and oxen from Thailand and Cambodia was initiated to replenish the supply of work animals depleted during the years of war and civil disorder. In all, to refugees and other needy farmers 24,000 work animals were sold on reasonable credit terms.

<sup>2</sup> Maj. Gen. Samuel L. Myers was deputy chief of the U.S. Military Assistance Advisory Group in Viet-Nam from 1956 to 1958.

<sup>3</sup> For a report on the first weeks of Operation Exodus, see BULLETIN of Feb. 7, 1955, p. 222.

The year 1956 also marked the beginning of major programs in the field of public works, most notably the reconstruction of highways and bridges. Aid was also given for the improvement of waterways, civil airways, and telecommunications. Indeed the story of USOM's contribution to the reconstruction and improvement of public works in Viet-Nam deserves more time than I can possibly give it today. I should like to say, however, that the highway program initiated in 1956 has been growing since that time and is only now reaching its peak. Through this effort American aid has provided the Vietnamese Ministry of Public Works with a large, modern, coordinated supply of highway and bridgebuilding equipment and shops and warehouses for its maintenance. It has developed quarries, precasting plants for concrete pipe and bridge members, and other accessory facilities for modern highway construction. The services of American engineers and an American construction contractor have been provided to rebuild three major roads and to train Vietnamese so that, when the first tasks are completed, the Vietnamese Government can use the equipment we have provided to continue the large and long-range highway building and maintenance task which the country confronts.

### **Third Year—1956-57**

The year which began in October 1956 was marked by particular progress in the field of public administration and financial reform. Indeed a preparatory step for the measures initiated in 1957 was taken in July 1956, when the Government of Viet-Nam opened a limited-access free market for foreign exchange transactions.

To understand the importance of this measure it is necessary to return once again to the early months of 1955. Within a few months after assuming responsibility for the administration of exchange controls, the Vietnamese authorities discovered that commitments previously made to business organizations and individuals authorizing them to convert piasters into foreign currencies for the transfer of profits and savings were rapidly depleting Viet-Nam's free foreign exchange. American aid was being offered in sufficient amounts to cover the essential import requirements of the country, but American aid could not be used to finance profit transfers and other invisible transactions.

Consequently, in May 1955 the Vietnamese Government virtually suspended all such transfers. This soon created serious dislocations. Accumulations of profits and individual savings which the owners were in the habit of transferring abroad tended to depress the value of the piaster and inevitably encouraged black-market transactions. At the same time complete inability to transfer legitimate business profits was recognized as inequitable and as discouraging to investment and business enterprise. Therefore the Vietnamese monetary authorities created the free market in which authorized firms and individuals are allowed to sell piasters at a rate which has proved throughout the past several years to be approximately double the official exchange rate. This, however, has met most of the needs of the business community and has tended in the long run to strengthen the value of Vietnamese money in international exchange.

There remained, however, through 1955 and 1956, other sources of inflationary pressure, most notably the fact that throughout the first 2 years the Vietnamese Government was unable to maintain a balanced budget. Both the central government and regional governments were given the right of overdraft on the national treasury, and this they exercised in providing governmental services deemed essential.

Recognizing the danger of such a practice, the Vietnamese Government in 1957 developed, with the help of Michigan State University USOM technicians, a greatly improved system of budget administration. In April 1957 new and heavier taxes were imposed on imports. The budgetary and tax reforms together put an end to deficit financing. In fact the reforms were applied with such vigor that by the end of the year the Government had accumulated a substantial surplus. These corrective financial measures were not without hardship in the business community, but they restored stability and armed the Government with new resources with which to increase its development program.

About project aid this year much might be said. For example, in 1957 resettlement of the high plateau, a major element in President Ngo Dinh Diem's present economic program, was initiated by a land development project patterned on the methods and techniques of the refugee program. Equipment and supplies worth \$3 million, and \$7



million in local currency, were allocated to the land development project by American aid.

Also notable in the period was the number of basic surveys provided by American aid—surveys laying the foundation for long-range development. These included studies of the sugar industry, the electric power requirements of the country, the Nong Son coal deposits, and the paper industry, and a comprehensive general industrial survey.

#### **Fourth Year—1957-58**

Thus the foundation was laid for increased American aid to industrial development in Viet-Nam, and this indeed became our foremost objective during the year beginning in October 1957. The year 1958 saw the initiation of the most important aid-financed project in the industrial field—the Industrial Development Center. This is an autonomous governmental organization established to provide technical advice and assistance and credit for private industrial development. The USOM project provides administrative support and the services of a firm of American industrial engineers. It has also endowed the center with a capital fund of \$6 million and 120 million piasters.

But our most extensive support to industry has been provided through nonproject aid. As I pointed out earlier, a substantial proportion of the imports financed by American aid has taken the form of spare parts and machinery for economic development. This has included equipment for dozens of small industries in Viet-Nam and also for a few of substantial size. In fact, the use of American aid for this purpose has been limited only by the willingness of private investors to order and pay in piasters for new capital equipment and the willingness of the Vietnamese Government to grant the necessary licenses. By way of illustration of the use to which the non-project aid resources can be put, I cite the example of the jute weaving company in Viet-Nam. This private establishment, investing its own piaster capital, imported over the course of 2 or 3 years \$1½ million worth of new machinery with which it modernized and more than doubled the capacity of its plant. Many other small businesses have done the same thing without fanfare and without special governmental assistance.

In addition a newly organized, privately owned cotton spinning and weaving company is obtaining its necessary capital equipment in the same way.

Unfortunately, however, there are few Vietnamese-owned enterprises with the capital and experience to launch large undertakings. There are in Viet-Nam some foreign-owned enterprises with the means and willingness to undertake new investments, but it has not been easy for the Vietnamese Government to approve their proposals because of the already very heavy preponderance of foreign ownership of business in Viet-Nam. To find a way around this difficulty the Government of Viet-Nam adopted the principle of the mixed company, in which the private owner holds as much as a 49 percent interest and may be given a managerial contract which will allow him to operate the business, for a temporary period at least, as an agent of the Government as well as in his own behalf. This has proved a satisfactory solution to industries in the fields of glass bottle manufacturing, sugar production, and lumbering, among others.

#### **Viet-Nam's Rubber Industry**

In concluding this chronological review I should like to say a word about what is really Free Viet-Nam's greatest industry—the production of natural rubber. Rubber is Viet-Nam's largest export. Rubber production has been maintained and, in fact, in the past few years has reached the highest levels in history. The rubber plantations are for the most part large and well managed, and they produce rubber of high quality. They are largely owned by well-established French companies. In common with other industries in the country they have obtained chemicals, equipment, and other imported essentials through American commercial aid but otherwise have not benefited by American assistance.

In some newly independent, former colonial territories enterprises of this sort have been the subject of hostility and discrimination on the part of the new nationalist government and have even suffered expropriation. In Viet-Nam this has not been the case. On the contrary, President Ngo Dinh Diem has recognized the economic importance of these enterprises to his country and, despite the risk of demagogic political attack,

has given the foreign rubber plants positive encouragement and has even offered Government loans to encourage the maintenance and expansion of rubber production.

In breaking this review of the American aid program into chronological periods I hope I have not prevented you from seeing the continuity which has characterized the program. Most of the undertakings I have described have extended over more than 1 year. They have been related to one another and to other projects which I have not even mentioned. For example, throughout the entire period extensive and constructive programs were conducted in the fields of education and public health. Everything we have done has been worked out in concert with the Vietnamese authorities and has been designed to deal with problems to which the Vietnamese Government attached priority.

In one respect Viet-Nam differs from many other countries which have received large-scale American aid in the past few years. Virtually all the financial assistance Viet-Nam has received from the United States has been provided by the mutual security program and has been administered by the International Cooperation Administration. Viet-Nam has had no Export-Import Bank loans and no credit from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. In the 4 years about which I have been talking Viet-Nam purchased only \$6 million in surplus agricultural commodities under Public Law 480, and it received its first commitment from the Development Loan Fund on February 9, 1959.

On the other hand, in the 4 years I have described so hastily, Viet-Nam received substantial technical and economic aid from France and has the services of several hundred secondary and university-level teachers from the French Cultural Mission. The United Nations and its several specialized agencies have supplied a variety of technical assistance, and aid, both economic and technical, has come from the donor countries of the Colombo Plan. Other nations, such as Italy, Germany, and the Republic of China, have sent technical missions and have offered scholarships or other forms of technical assistance. Although the United States has provided the bulk of the financial assistance during this period, technical aid from these other sources has been

invaluable and has often been combined with American aid to make them both more effective.

#### **Appraising Viet-Nam's Accomplishments**

How should one appraise the work of these past 4 years in Viet-Nam? If it is simply the effectiveness of American aid on which a judgment is to be made and the wisdom with which it is administered, I am hardly the person to undertake the task. I do feel qualified, however, to say a closing word about the accomplishments of Viet-Nam in those areas in which American assistance played an important role.

In the first place, Viet-Nam is a free nation today, stronger militarily, politically, and administratively than most people thought possible 4 years ago. In the second place, Viet-Nam has made the transition from colonial status and an inflated wartime economy to political independence and a normal level of economic activity without a fall in the standard of living and without loss of political or economic stability. In the third place, agricultural production has been restored, and refugees equal to 7 percent of the population have been received and resettled. Viet-Nam has been slow to return to the world rice export market because of increased domestic consumption, although actual production reached and surpassed prewar levels. In the fourth place, much of the physical destruction caused by the civil war and the years of occupation has been repaired. Fifth, a program of industrial development has been launched. Finally, the nation has been enabled to maintain the military strength required by the constant threat of Communist aggression.

In fact so much has been accomplished in the past 4 years that one can easily forget that Viet-Nam remains a divided country, not enjoying the blessings of peace but protected only by an armistice. The threat of subversion and violence within and of infiltration from without and the danger of actual invasion are ever present. This is why the Government of Viet-Nam is sometimes obliged to put considerations of security ahead of economic objectives and why defense continues to absorb such a large proportion of the total national budget and of American aid.

Many problems remain, and some of mutual interest are yet to be resolved, but, so long as



Viet-Nam has a leader with the courage, moral strength, and determination of President Ngo Dinh Diem, the nation can face the future with hope and confidence. So long as these threats to national security remain, however, Viet-Nam will need the help of the United States and of her other friends in the free world. If we can judge the future by the past, Viet-Nam will deserve our assistance.

## **U.S. and Viet-Nam Sign Atomic Energy Agreement**

Press release 274 dated April 22

The Governments of Viet-Nam and the United States on April 22 signed an agreement for co-operation for research in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Signing the agreement for the United States were Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs Walter S. Robertson and Chairman John A. McCone of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission. Ambassador Tran Van Chuong signed for Viet-Nam. The signing took place at the Department of State.

The agreement provides that the Government of the United States will furnish the Government of Viet-Nam information on the design, construction, and operation of nuclear research reactors and their uses in research, development, and engineering projects. Industrial firms, other organizations, and private citizens are permitted to supply appropriate nuclear equipment and related services under arrangements which they may conclude with the Vietnamese Government or authorized private organizations and individuals under its jurisdiction.

Under the terms of the agreement the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission may lease to the Vietnamese Government up to 6 kilograms (13.2 pounds) of contained U-235 in uranium enriched up to a maximum of 20 percent U-235 for use in research reactors. Viet-Nam assumes responsibility for safeguarding the fissionable material in its possession. The agreement also provides for the exchange of unclassified information in the

research reactor field, in related health and safety matters, and in the use of radioactive isotopes in physical and biological research, medical therapy, agriculture, and industry.

Looking to the future the Governments of the United States and Viet-Nam affirm in the agreement their common interest in availing themselves of the facilities and services of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The agreement will come into effect after procedural and statutory requirements of both countries have been met.

## **U.S. Increases Shipments of Grain to Ethiopia**

Press release 282 dated April 23

The United States is increasing its emergency assistance shipments of grain to Ethiopia to 19,500 tons under an agreement signed at Washington on April 23. The agreement provides for the shipment of 5,500 tons of sorghum and 4,000 tons of wheat for distribution in the Ethiopian provinces of Harar and Tigre, adding to the 5,000 tons of wheat and 5,000 tons of sorghum for Eritrea under a similar agreement signed last March 6.

Ambassador Zaude Gabre Heywot signed the agreement for the Imperial Ethiopian Government at the offices of the International Cooperation Administration. The grain is being provided by ICA as an emergency assistance grant under title II of Public Law 480 (the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act). It will be used by Ethiopia to relieve threatened food shortages in Harar and Tigre caused by severe locust infestation and drought.

As in the case of grain now being delivered to Eritrea, where a similar emergency exists, Ethiopia will distribute the supplies free to needy persons who lost their crops and cannot purchase grain for their own consumption.

Arrangements are under way to get the supplies to Harar and Tigre as soon as possible.

## The International Geophysical Year in Retrospect

by Wallace W. Atwood, Jr.

On December 31, 1958, the International Geophysical Year, widely known as the IGY, came to an end. For a period of 18 months starting on July 1, 1957, and throughout the 5 years of planning that had gone before, a unique example of international cooperation was given to the world. In spite of national rivalries, ideological tensions, and wars both hot and cold, scientists of East and West—and those of neutral nations in between—pooled their skills and their learning to push out the frontiers of knowledge for the benefit of all mankind. Through their concerted efforts quantities of basic scientific data were gathered, which will form the basis of future research projects for years to come. Important new discoveries were made regarding man's environment, the earth itself, the oceans, and the atmosphere. Through the launching of artificial earth satellites the IGY brought man to the threshold of a new era of exploration: the exploration of outer space.

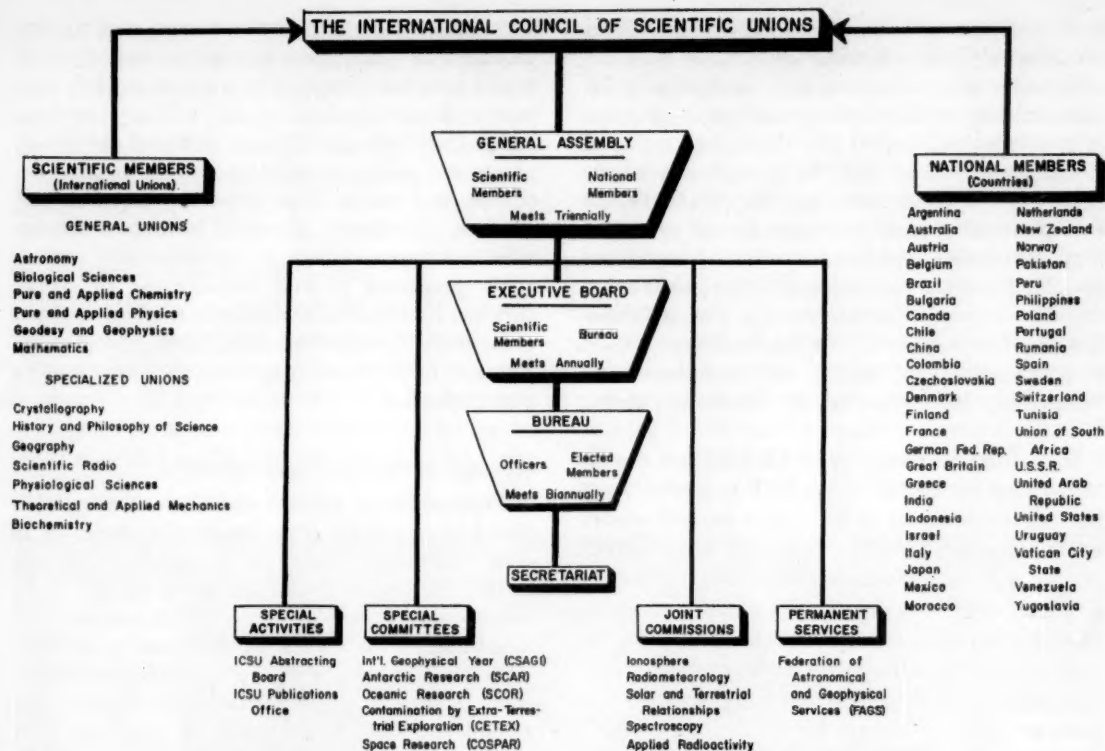
To bring all this about required the services of some 30,000 scientists and technicians and as many amateur observers, representing most of the nations on earth. Some 4,000 primary sites and several thousand auxiliary ones covered every part of the world, extending from pole to pole and reaching into many hitherto inaccessible spots. Expedi-

tions went to some of the farthest reaches of the globe, and scientists from countries whose political leaders were snarling at each other worked on in amity, like the United States and Soviet Union weathermen who jointly staffed meteorological stations in the Antarctic.

Although the IGY was conceived and carried out by scientists working through their nongovernmental international organizations, the success of the undertaking depended in large measure on the support given by governments all over the world. To a greater or lesser extent, public funds were used to finance the various national IGY programs. In many instances governments provided logistics for material and personnel. And each cooperated by facilitating the necessary exit from one country and entry into another of scientists engaged in the work and expedited the movement through customs and other national barriers of scientific equipment to be placed and utilized abroad. In these ways governments actively participated in the IGY.

The precedents for the International Geophysical Year were the First Polar Year of 1882-83 and its successor, the Second Polar Year of 1932-33. In 1950 a proposal was made that another period of international and interdisciplinary research be scheduled at the 25-year interval (1957-58) instead of the 50-year interval. There were three good reasons for this advance scheduling: (1) The warehouse of basic data essential to progress in science was nearly empty; (2) travel at supersonic speeds and the rapid development of new communications systems posed problems which required basic information concerning the earth, the

● *Mr. Atwood is Director of the Office of International Relations of the National Academy of Sciences—National Research Council. For an earlier article on the Geophysical Year by Mr. Atwood, see BULLETIN of December 3, 1956, p. 880.*



**FIGURE 1.** The organization of ICSU as visualized by the author; no official chart exists. The general assembly is the top administrative body composed of delegates appointed by the scientific and national members. The bureau and executive board conduct the affairs of ICSU between triennial assemblies. The office of the secretariat is at The Hague.

oceans, and the upper atmosphere; and (3) a period of unusual activity on the surface of the sun was predicted for 1957-58, which would provide an excellent opportunity to observe some of the phenomena that affect man's environment on planet earth.

#### Role of International Council of Scientific Unions

Planning went forward under the guidance of the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU). This is a nongovernmental organization which helps to coordinate activities in international science. It comprises 13 international scientific unions, from which it takes its name, together with 45 member nations, each represented by a suitable adhering organization. Generally, the adhering national unit is the national academy of science or research council or a similar body;

for the United States it is the National Academy of Sciences. The organizational structure of this Council is shown in figure 1.

The overall plan for the IGY called for studying 3 large areas of science, covering 11 different disciplines. The first of the three areas related to studies of the earth itself; the second covered weather and climate, including the events and processes on the earth's surface and in the lower atmosphere that make up the important "heat and water budget"; the third took in the upper atmosphere, extending out to the sun and on into outer space itself.

Within this general plan the scientists of each country were invited to set forth the research they would undertake as their part of the IGY. In the United States it was the National Academy of Sciences that called together a group of scientists to plan a national program. This group was called

the U.S. National Committee for the International Geophysical Year. Similar committees were established in other countries, each charged with the responsibility of developing a national program to be carried out in 1957-58. Then, in a series of meetings called by ICSU's Comité spécial de l'année géophysique internationale (CSAGI), the various national plans were coordinated by voluntary adjustment to make sure that all important geographic areas and scientific disciplines were suitably covered. These meetings for coordination were held annually during the 5-year period of preparation for the IGY and contributed immeasurably to the success of the entire undertaking.

Financing the meetings of CSAGI and the international secretariat of the IGY in Brussels was the responsibility of ICSU. The amount needed averaged about \$50,000 a year and was obtained from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and from the national IGY participating committees. It is significant to note that ICSU's request for support was oversubscribed and a substantial balance remains to carry forward the post-IGY program of publication.

Because of the unique structure and financing of ICSU and its unions, a flow chart showing the income and expenditures of the organization has been prepared and reproduced as figure 2. The Special Committee for the IGY (CSAGI) appears at the extreme right of the chart.

In every activity connected with United States participation in the IGY, there was nationwide, exemplary cooperation by all members of the scientific community. Universities, research institutions, industrial laboratories, foundations, and individual scientists participated unselfishly in implementing the program developed by the U.S. National Committee. At the same time the National Science Foundation took over the important task of fund raising and of representing the needs of the IGY before the U.S. Congress and executive agencies of the Government. A total of \$43 million was appropriated by Congress in support of the scientific aspects of the United States IGY program. Industrial, commercial, and other organizations and various agencies of the Government provided help. For example, the establishment and maintenance of scientific stations in

Antarctica, the study of the oceans, and the exploration of outer space by rockets and satellites would have been impossible without the full support and participation of the military services, which provided scientific and technical personnel, planes and ships, essential equipment, housing facilities, and many other necessary supplies and services. Similarly, it would have been impossible to arrange certain of the important cooperative programs if the Department of State, through its Office of the Science Adviser, had not contributed its experienced diplomatic hand in the conduct of bilateral negotiations with foreign governments.

#### **Principle of Political Noninterference**

The number of nations whose scientists participated in the IGY grew constantly, from 26 in July 1954 to a total of 66 three years later. Every inhabited continent and all parts of the world were represented. Large and small nations were able to help their scientists participate in the IGY, each group making a contribution consistent with such factors as available facilities, trained personnel, and financial resources.

There was one incident that threatened the purely scientific character of this international cooperative effort. In the second half of the IGY the Chinese Communist authorities at Peiping, who had previously permitted their scientists to join this effort, withdrew after scientists from Taiwan were accepted by CSAGI into the IGY. The Peiping scientists, prompted by political motivations of their regime, had asked that scientists from Taiwan be barred, but CSAGI refused to allow the IGY cooperative enterprise to be spoiled by this attempt at political pressure.

At this point it is relevant to call attention to one of ICSU's basic principles recently reaffirmed at the 1958 general assembly held in Washington, namely that ICSU and its affiliated bodies welcome participation in their activities of scientists from any country or territory and that such participation shall not carry any implication whatsoever with respect to recognition of the government of the country or territory concerned. This principle made possible the virtually universal enrollment of national scientific communities in the IGY. It showed up on occasion in such anomalies as the presence of scientists from the Soviet



Union, Poland, and Communist China at the 1956 CSAGI meeting at Barcelona; had the orientation of the meeting been political, this would have been impossible. The Barcelona meeting, of course, took place before Peiping spoiled the otherwise perfect record of political noninterference.

#### Availability of Information Assured

ICSU also insists on free and prompt dissemination of information. Therefore it was mutually agreed from the start that the data gathered during the IGY would be available to the scientists and researchers of all nations. This agreement provided assurance that the maximum gain

would come from the collected information, since everyone who might have use for it would also have access to it.

To facilitate access to all information CSAGI established three World Data Centers, to which observations would be sent. One center was set up in the United States, the second in the U.S.S.R., and the third in Western Europe, with branches of the latter in Japan and Australia.

One of the primary reasons for the IGY, advanced by the scientists, was the need to observe certain geophysical phenomena simultaneously from many localities scattered over the surface of the earth. To attain such simultaneity of observations would require worldwide cooperation and also a worldwide communications system that

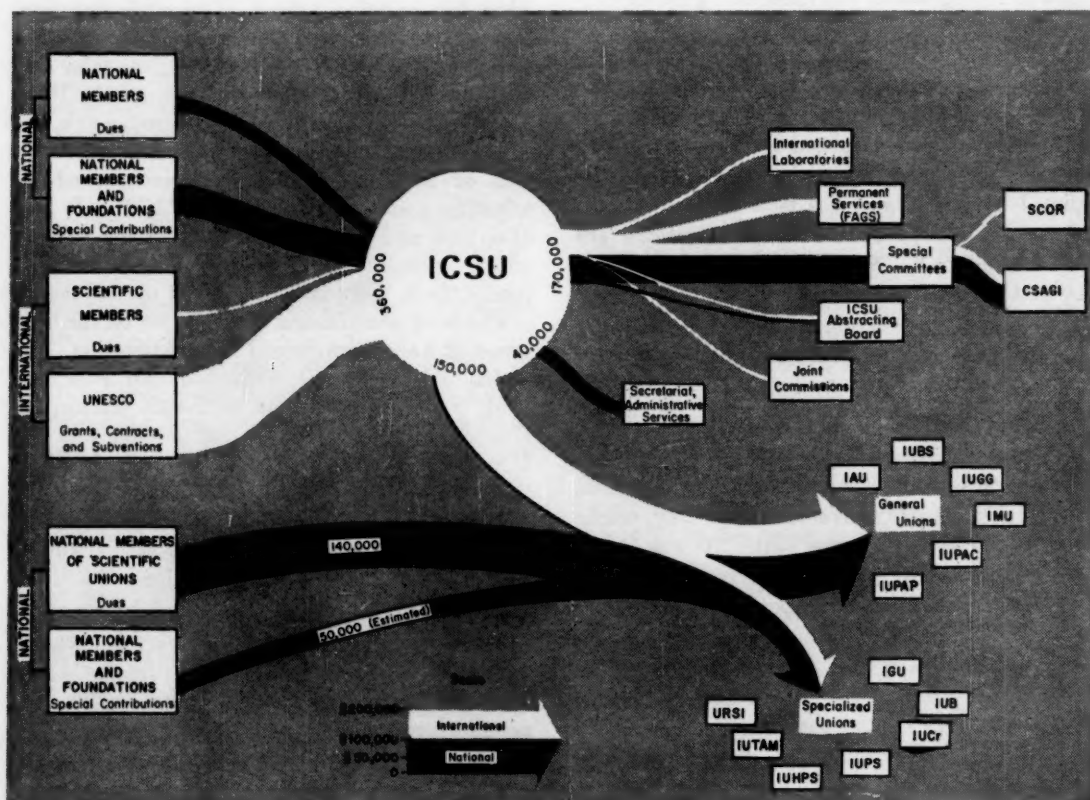


FIGURE 2. Flowchart showing to scale the income and expenditures of ICSU and its member unions in 1957 (all figures are approximate). Over 62 percent of the total income was used for union activities; 30 percent for special committees, permanent services, and related projects; and about 7 percent for secretariat and administrative services. The unions and special committees identified by initials only are named in figure 1.

would link together the IGY observers wherever they might be—in Antarctica, high in the Andes of South America, at sea on an oceanographic vessel, or at observation stations distributed over five continents.

Accordingly the IGY planners in cooperation with the International Scientific Radio Union—URSI (Union radio scientifique internationale)—developed a World Days warning-alert communications system with headquarters at Fort Belvoir, 15 miles south of Washington, D.C. Certain days known as World Days were selected in advance for intensive worldwide observation of particular phenomena. Other days were selected on short notice as interesting phenomena developed, such as sudden flareups on the surface of the sun. Occasionally an alert was issued when a fast-developing storm was spotted. This permitted observers over a large area to track the course of the storm and thus learn a little more about the problems of weather forecasting.

The role of ICSU in the IGY was very real although sometimes overlooked by those unfamiliar with the pattern of international cooperation developed by ICSU over the past 40 years. This role and the sequence of IGY operations are shown in figure 3. National planning and international program coordination are featured at the left in the chart; research, evaluation of data, and publication of results are shown at the right.

#### **Post-IGY Activities**

Without ICSU and its member unions the IGY might never have been initiated and the ambitious post-IGY programs, currently under way, might have been delayed for many years. It was ICSU with its 45-nation membership and 13 unions which met in Washington in October 1958 to chart post-IGY activities. On that occasion it was decided to establish a new Special Committee for Inter-Union Cooperation in Geophysics, to be known as the SCG, to guarantee continuance of international collaboration in geophysics along the lines begun in CSAGI under the IGY. This new committee will be immediately concerned with publication of the results of the IGY. In addition, ICSU established the Special Committee on Oceanic Research (SCOR), the Special Committee on Antarctic Research (SCAR), the Committee on Contamination by Extra-Terres-

trial Exploration (CETEX), the Committee on Space Research (COSPAR), and the International Service for World Days (IWDS).

Thus ICSU, even before the accomplishments of the IGY have been fully evaluated, has charted new explorations into the unknown. These programs will be carried forward by the scientists of many nations working through their national scientific institutions and with the assistance of their respective governments. The several committees of ICSU will coordinate the work in the same manner employed so successfully during the IGY.

#### **Some Scientific Achievements**

It will take many years to analyze and evaluate the data gathered during the IGY and to learn what this additional fund of scientific information may mean in practical effects on man's way of living. However, it might be well to take note of a few of the results that have appeared. What follows cannot in any sense be comprehensive, nor even representative perhaps, but it may give some idea of the magnitude and importance of the scientific accomplishments of the IGY. It may also, here and there, reveal some of the ways in which international scientific cooperation extended from planning into actual operations.

The most comprehensive attack yet on the mysteries of Antarctica, joined in by Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, France, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the U.S.S.R., has started to reveal the actual face of that continent. Beneath the ice masses, it has been found, lies a complex of mountainous islands many of which would be ocean covered if the ice mantle were suddenly to melt. Signs of a major separation between the east and west halves of the continent also have been discerned. A concomitant discovery is that the total of the world's ice and snow, most of which lies in this region, is 40 percent greater than previously thought. The new estimate considerably changes what is known of the heat and water balance of the earth, which is of critical importance to present and future climate.

In addition, through the cooperation of observers from all the nations conducting operations in Antarctica, the first comprehensive census of antarctic weather has been completed. Precise data

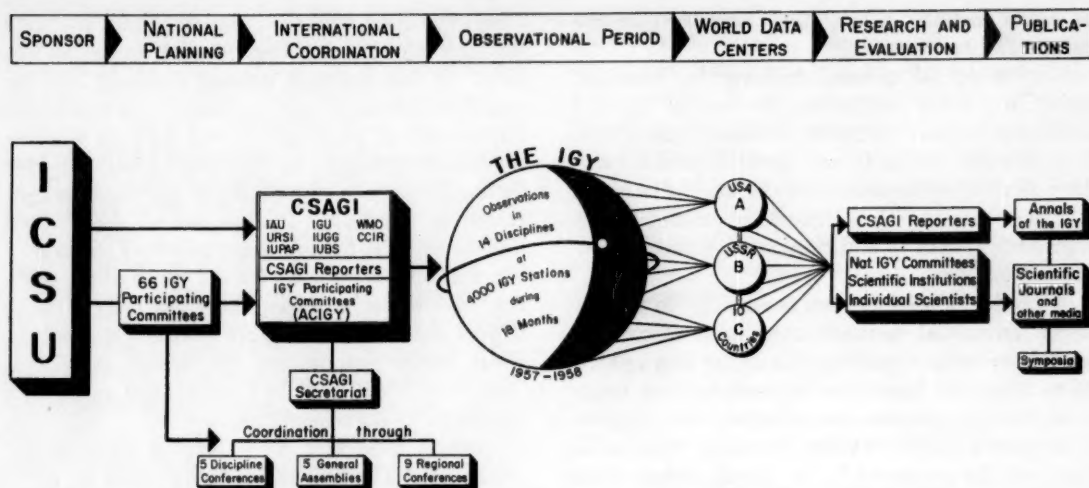


FIGURE 3. The pattern of IGY operation developed by CSAGI in accordance with guidelines established by ICSU. International coordination of national programs was accomplished by scientists from IGY participating committees at meetings sponsored by CSAGI. The scientific data obtained during the 18-month observational period have been deposited in three World Data Centers, from which they can be obtained for the purpose of research and evaluation by scientists of any country. The final phase of the operation is the publication of results in the *Annals of the International Geophysical Year* and other scientific journals.

on temperature (measured as low as  $-124^{\circ}$  F.), pressure, humidity, and wind direction and velocity will permit a more accurate gaging of the influence this region has on weather throughout the world.

Scientists from many nations participated in the IGY oceanographic research program. Countries from the Northern Hemisphere joined those bordering the Indian Ocean in studies of that ocean; South American and Asian countries shared in Pacific Ocean research; 350 tide-gage stations were operated by no fewer than 25 nations; and the 80 research vessels that took part in the cruise portions of the oceanographic program represented 20 different countries.

Sea-level changes were measured and the oceanic water budget studied. In addition, important discoveries were made concerning the behavior of certain ocean currents. Three major countercurrents were located, clocked, and measured: one in the Atlantic flowing deep beneath the Gulf Stream and two in the Pacific. All three shed new light on the nature of the oceans, on their effects on climate and weather, and on potential food resources that may become vital to rapidly increasing populations in young nations striving for orderly development.

Deep trenches have been located beneath the ocean off the west coast of South America and in the Arctic Basin. The bottom of a vast region in the southeast Pacific has been found to bear a sludge rich in manganese, iron, cobalt, and copper, potentially of such great value that its exploitation may not be very far off.

Although the goal of the IGY was geophysical research, study in other fields of science was almost inevitable. For example, one of the by-products of the oceanographic studies was the discovery in the ocean depths of a live specimen of a supposedly extinct presnail. The chance to study this creature will help biologists fill in the background of evolutionary history.

Whether his belief was manifested through superstition, expressed in religion, or pursued through science, man seems always to have recognized the pervasive influence of the sun. During the IGY scientists of 33 nations at preselected vantage points throughout the world kept the sun under perpetual watch. As a result there now exists an unmatched record in data and photographs of the solar flares and all other discernible activity on the sun. With this record the solar processes can be analyzed and correlated with terrestrial phenomena, some of which, like the effects



of radio communication, have long been known but not fully understood.

Monitoring of auroral activity by cameras, radar, and other equipment has turned up data that seem to bear on the emission of cosmic rays from the sun during flares. Joint United States-New Zealand observations of the aurora have led to the conclusion that lithium is present in the high atmosphere in addition to the elements previously known.

With the help of modern technology to supplement traditional methods, significant discoveries have been made regarding the upper atmosphere. More than 300 instrumented rockets have measured density, pressure, temperature, and composition up to a height of some 250 miles. One result has been the discovery in the lowest region of the ionosphere of X-rays which apparently cause increased electrical activity that can sometimes black out radio communications; studies made during an eclipse of the sun suggest its corona as the source of these rays. Cosmic-ray trajectories reveal strong deviations from what should be expected according to the accepted description of the earth's magnetic field; it appears now that the latter is pulled somewhat askew by the effects of magnetic fields surrounding other bodies in space.

In addition a large region of powerful radiation trapped within the earth's magnetic field has recently been located 1,000 to 3,000 miles above the earth's surface and given the name of the Van Allen Radiation Belt. This radiation helps to explain certain geomagnetic variations and auroral displays; its presence must be taken into account in the preparation for space travel.

#### **Impact of the IGY**

The launching of satellite vehicles during the IGY as scientific probes into space opened a new era of exploration and discovery. At this stage scientists are still gathering information—information that adds to an understanding of the origin of the solar system, perhaps of matter itself. A long step beyond, but nevertheless a step no longer out of reach or sensible thought, is man's own penetration of new worlds, at least of the moon and the nearby planets. How far in the future this development lies is not yet clear, but the use of experimental animals in recent test flights suggests that the first space trips by man may be imminent.

The stimulation to thought and imagination

which has come with the opening of new horizons through the IGY has few parallels in recent history. It has renewed interest in study and research, and more people have come to recognize the importance of pure science, not just its applications in technology. In the United States the educational system is responding to the impetus generated by the IGY. Parents, school boards, and legislators have become more aware of the importance of science training for the youth of the country. By the same token there has been a rising tide of demands that highly qualified students be given better preparation for careers in science. The result could well be a substantial change for the better in the educational system.

Citizens generally have become more keenly aware of the contributions being made by scientists and by scientific institutions. The notable leadership provided by the National Academy of Sciences has brought deserved recognition for that body. Similarly, the National Science Foundation and the scientific organizations of the country, both governmental and private, have acquired greater stature and importance in the public eye.

It has been suggested in high tribunals that the IGY has provided a pattern of international cooperation which should be emulated. If this is true, it is because the scientists involved were men of good will and because they developed together the procedures necessary to achieve their common objectives. At no time did the scientists allow political differences to block their course. Through their national academies and other scientific institutions they interested their respective governments in the IGY plans and obtained the cooperation and financial support which they required. In this manner the IGY scientists developed a team which possessed the strength and prestige necessary to carry through the most ambitious program of scientific exploration the world has ever known.

These well-tested methods, developed by ICSU and its unions and so effectively employed during the IGY, are ideally suited for the furtherance of international cooperation in science. For this reason it may be hoped that the United Nations and its specialized agencies, when they contemplate the initiation of international scientific activities, will call upon organizations such as ICSU for advice and assistance. If this should happen,



the IGY, in addition to making a significant contribution to science and human welfare, will have brought to the United Nations a valuable tool for the conduct of international scientific relations.

For the United States, the IGY has further demonstrated the significance of scientific factors in formulating and executing foreign policy. This is apparent in the day-to-day work of the Department of State and in pronouncements of congressional committees and the executive branch of the Government. This greater interest in science on the part of Government has been developing ever since the first atomic bomb was dropped in 1945, but it was the IGY with its associated scientific and technological achievements (especially those of the Soviet Union) which clearly indicated that science could facilitate the attainment of peaceful objectives of foreign policy.

It is gratifying to record that in 1950, more than 8 years ago, the Department of State recognized the growing importance of science by creating the Office of the Science Adviser and by appointing science attachés to several embassies in Western Europe. These actions were taken following a careful study which resulted in the publication of the Berkner report entitled *Science and Foreign Relations*.<sup>1</sup> Although the Department's science office was drastically curtailed in 1955, it since has been revived and strengthened. Within the next few months it is expected that a total of eight science officers will be stationed at United States missions overseas.<sup>2</sup>

Additional developments indicating the growing recognition of science are seen in the creation of the President's Science Advisory Committee late in 1957 and the establishment of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in October 1958. Both actions may be traced either directly or indirectly to activities of the IGY which pushed forward the frontiers of science with unusual speed and opened the door to outer space with such force as to jolt the nations of the world.

This is the story of the IGY in retrospect. It

<sup>1</sup>In 1949 Lloyd V. Berkner, president of Associated Universities, Inc., was asked by the Secretary of State to survey the role of the Department in science. His report became the basic reference on science policy for the Department. Mr. Berkner later became vice president of the International committee for the IGY.

<sup>2</sup>For a Department announcement, see BULLETIN of Dec. 29, 1958, p. 1048.

was a good program, carefully planned and magnificently executed. Through its successes the world has gained new scientific knowledge of untold wealth. It also opened the eyes of many persons to the significance of science in national and world affairs. But even more important to the future of mankind on this planet are the happiness and satisfaction that the scientists found in working together. As a consequence, peaceful cooperation among people of all nations is a little closer to realization.

## TREATY INFORMATION

### Current Actions

#### MULTILATERAL

##### Telecommunication

Telegraph regulations (Geneva revision, 1958), annexed to the International telecommunication convention of December 22, 1952 (TIAS 3266), with appendixes and final protocol. Done at Geneva November 29, 1958.<sup>1</sup> Notification of approval: Switzerland, February 26, 1959.

##### Wheat

International wheat agreement, 1959, with annex. Open for signature at Washington April 6 through April 24, 1959.<sup>1</sup>

Signatures: Portugal, April 14, 1959; Denmark, April 15, 1959; India, April 17, 1959; Switzerland and Vatican City, April 20, 1959; Federal Republic of Germany, Ireland, Norway, Philippines, and Union of South Africa, April 21, 1959; Belgium, Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, Canada, Indonesia, Israel, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Sweden, United Arab Republic, and United States, April 22, 1959; Cuba, Dominican Republic, France, Greece, Haiti, Italy, Japan, and Mexico, April 23, 1959; Argentina, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Korea, Netherlands,<sup>2</sup> Peru, Spain, and United Kingdom,<sup>2</sup> April 24, 1959.

#### BILATERAL

##### Bolivia

Agreement amending the Air Force Mission agreement of June 30, 1956 (TIAS 3604), and the Army Mission agreement of June 30, 1956 (TIAS 3605). Effected by exchange of notes at La Paz April 2 and 3, 1959. Entered into force April 3, 1959.

<sup>1</sup>Not in force.

<sup>2</sup>With declaration.

## Canada

Agreement relating to communications facilities at Cape Dyer, Baffin Island, to support the Greenland extension of the distant early warning system. Effected by exchange of notes at Ottawa April 13, 1959. Entered into force April 13, 1959.

## Colombia

Agreement amending the Army Mission agreement of February 21, 1949, as extended (TIAS 1892 and 3146), the Air Force Mission agreement of February 21, 1949, as extended (TIAS 1893 and 3146), and the Naval Mission agreement of October 14, 1946, as extended (TIAS 1563 and 3146). Effected by exchange of notes at Bogotá February 18 and March 31, 1959. Entered into force March 31, 1959.

## Tunisia

Agreement relating to investment guaranties under section 413(b)(4) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended (68 Stat. 847; 22 U.S.C. 1933). Effected by exchange of notes at Tunis March 17 and 18, 1959. Entered into force March 18, 1959.

## United Arab Republic

Agreement concerning the exchange of parcel post and regulations of execution. Signed at Cairo December 30, 1958, and at Washington January 13, 1959. Enters into force on a date to be mutually settled between the postal administrations of the two countries.

*Approved and ratified by the President: April 17, 1959.*

## Viet-Nam

Research reactor agreement for cooperation concerning civil uses of atomic energy. Signed at Washington April 22, 1959. Enters into force on date on which each Government receives from the other written notification that it has complied with statutory and constitutional requirements.

## U.S. and Mexico Recess

### Air Transport Talks

Press release 286 dated April 24

The talks between the Governments of the United States and Mexico for the purpose of reaching an agreement concerning a system to regulate air transport between the two countries subsequent to June 30, 1959, were recessed on April 24.

The U.S. and Mexican delegations have been meeting daily in Mexico City since April 6. They have engaged in a frank and friendly exchange of views covering experience under the 1957 Provisional Air Transport Agreement<sup>1</sup> and have made notable progress toward arriving at a mutually agreeable understanding. However, both delegations felt the need to confer further with their respective Governments. They agreed on a short recess.

The recessed talks may be resumed at any time on the initiative of either delegation.

<sup>1</sup> Treaties and Other International Acts Series 3776.

## DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

### Confirmations

The Senate on April 21 confirmed Christian A. Herter to be Secretary of State. (For biographic details, see press release 277 dated April 22.)

### Appointments

Parker Gilbert Montgomery as Special Assistant to the Deputy Under Secretary for Administration, effective May 1, 1959. (For biographic details, see press release 276 dated April 22.)

### Designations

Joseph L. Brent as director of the U.S. Operations Mission, Morocco, effective April 20, 1959. (For biographic details, see press release 273 dated April 20.)

Norman Burns as director of the U.S. Operations Mission, Jordan, effective April 26. (For biographic details, see press release 287 dated April 24.)

### Check List of Department of State Press Releases: April 20-26

Press releases may be obtained from the News Division, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C. Releases issued prior to April 20 which appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 261 and 262 of April 13 and 270 of April 17.

No.	Date	Subject
†271	4/20	Consulate at Tananarive reopened (rewrite).
272	4/19	Dillon: return from SEATO meeting.
*273	4/20	Brent designated director, USOM, Morocco (biographic details).
274	4/22	Atomic energy agreement with Viet-Nam.
275	4/22	Berlin medical center (rewrite).
*276	4/22	Montgomery appointed Special Assistant (biographic details).
*277	4/22	Herter confirmed as Secretary of State (biographic details).
†278	4/22	U.S. delegation to OAS Committee of 21 (rewrite).
†279	4/22	Investment agreement with Malaya.
280	4/22	Herter: remarks to Department personnel.
281	4/23	Passports for newsmen for travel to Communist China.
282	4/23	Grain to Ethiopia.
283	4/24	Chiefs of missions at Santiago.
284	4/24	Eisenhower: message to American Federation of Arts.
285	4/24	King of Belgium visits U.S. (rewrite).
286	4/24	Air transport negotiations with Mexico recessed.
*287	4/24	Burns designated director, USOM, Jordan (biographic details).

\*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.

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